I:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kapeokui *	Kipkokos Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipieken *	Kipieken	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapii *	Kipsirkoi	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toiyoi *	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	rain
Korapor *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talai *	Talai	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kipongoi,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaika, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Kopoc, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kiruokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokuet* (p. 32).

The Koret

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *koret* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kiruokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *korosuek*, named (from north to south), Cepurur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sapalo. In 1939 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERITA)

History

101 The group described by Lambert as living at Kerita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mazaini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1897 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

621 There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a
● 273 leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal,
583 and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls
611 are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system,
595 but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

588 There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the
561 prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gisisit*, derived from the Masai *ol-gisis*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

614

Religion

776 A so-called supreme being called *Turuviti*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

769

113 SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 3.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 393.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93
[4] = Nandi *turuv*, " above."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)039 FLA Dorobo FLA

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Gourds (*kibbe*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorobo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorobo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and honey in exchange for livestock, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other commodities which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorobo divide their country into divisions called *kwet*, pl. *kwenuk* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kiptenon, Ilwa, Kimwiengo, Soniyo (hamlet, N. *ndat*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Mawet (N.). East: Ye-tarur (N. *ole-tarur* = sp). West: Ye'nik-ta (= where[the sun] descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kimalilo-Kâpiyekondi Dorobo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parkyetuy[3] arap Ngaindigan, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1906. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)—councillor) was chosen for "kpiyopto kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruogot ap poiniek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi one, since H.H. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, see V., "Miscellaneous." These are hardly to be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

that emotional disturbance is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their office in the following terms :—

Ke'nuch ligúsh ai kuúch che mûyuch ak che
We take-counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

nuch, ai ke-kas pûk tukul. Ingomin chûl'
bad that they-may-understand (-obey) the-people all. If-he-refuses the-man

ake tukul, ke-nen, ai kwa emet ake.
other way, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of *our* country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

771 The religious beliefs of the Dorobo are even vaguer than those of the Kavirondo. They believe in a god *Asista* (N.), who is the sun and moonshine, and who has a sister *Awawa** (N.), the moon.[1] No offerings are made to either, but the men pray to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form :—

*Asis,** ipûy'-uch emûk,
God, fill-us-with the-food,

or,

*Awawa,** ipûy'-uch emûk,
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*ménder*, pl. *mik*, N.) which are good and bad. Prayers are addressed to the good *mik* (*mik che mûyuch*) to obtain food and health; *e.g.* :—

Mik, ipûy'-uch emûk,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food.

Mik, ipûy'-uch mget,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

Libations of honey and water (*kapsoúk*)[2] and of honey-wine (*kipkelúk*, N.) are offered to the good *mik*, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*kumbi*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

Ipûy'-uch emûk ai kîpûye mget,
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[1] I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nile-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (See Beech, *The Sun, the Moon and the Stars among the Southern Nandi-speaking Peoples*, Journ. Afr. Soc. xi. 1911-12, p. 419.)

[2] The Nandi offer milk.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurerek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 % were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 % maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprising that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the horde in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*kwet* plur. *kwosuek*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cepurur[1]; 2. Kelpui; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkorom; 5. Sosoiyo; 6. Meteitei; 7. Mokogic; 8. Puret; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Meteitei. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kiruokindet* — the councillor)

[1] C ch in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *koret* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *koret* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *koret* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *koret* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper [4], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *muranik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[4] Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 38-41.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

to marry her, and should the affair become known (as such things usually do), the clan council can prevent, if necessary by force, any attempt of the man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary ostracism, for as an elder told me, *ingoruiyo cĭ ok cept ap tiliet, caluokto ne oo kut, amu mecome apaiisiek ngut mecome cesowilōk*, "if a man lies with a girl of his *tiliet* (by which he meant clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes incest, and a very serious offence, treated as if it were intercourse with a relative in the *tiliet*, and summary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the crime of incest offends the *cesowilōk*, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty are not punished there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may hurt indiscriminately not only them but innocent people as well. So in such cases, when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his honey-barrels are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after due discussion at the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is, to the time before the Government attempted to establish the Dorobo in Nandi in 1937; and my census in 1939 revealed that there were comparatively few old men left, many less, in fact, than there were in 1927. The clan groupings therefore do not show so many old men as would have appeared normally, and most of the existing seniors of to-day are elder members of the Nyongi age-set, whose maximum age in 1939 was fifty. Some idea of the composition of a clan settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:

At Kipukua and Kipkorom, 2 miles apart; all Moi clan.	1 Kaplelac. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 5 unmarried Maina. 1 Juma. 3 old women and 1 girl.
At Kepen; Moi and Kapsekoi clans.	1 Kimnyike. 2 married Nyongi, wives and children. 3 unmarried Nyongi. 6 unmarried Maina.
At Ndoroton and Ngatepkong, 3 miles apart; all Kipieken.	1 married Nyongi, wife absent. 4 unmarried Maina. 2 Juma. 3 widows and 2 girls living with them. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 1 unmarried Nyongi.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1927, and a number of them has been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which clan settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

3. The Koret

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the uncentralized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Masae, Nandi, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1939 I was told that no *koret* council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1927 the somewhat slight and unavoidably incomplete picture is, I think, correct as far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *apaiisiek*, elders; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *uetik*, boys. The *apaiisiek* and *murenik* are those who take part in public affairs; *uetik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *engitokisiek*, old women; *yosotik*, married women; and *tipik*, girls; have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relatives. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be major participants in some affair, as for instance, when a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *koret*, pl. *korosuek*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Cepurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kelpui: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Sirua: south of Kelpui.
4. Kipkorom: from Sirua to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Sosoiyo: east of Kipkorom.
6. Meteitei: between the forest and the Meteitei river.
7. Mokopic: east of Kipkorom.
8. Puret: east of Sirua.
9. Sangalo: east of Sirua.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpui, Kipkorom and Sosoiyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *korosuek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *korosuek* correspond with the Nandi *korotinuek* (sing. *koret*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *koret* had its council, *kiruokat*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *apaiyet*, "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *ueliepta kitio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

In 1939 no *koret* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkorom was one Cemuren arap Cepsuku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Sosoiyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Meteitei was Ncascas arap Meirica, a Kipkoiimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a primus inter pares who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *koret* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

I noticed that when Dorobo were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *korosuek*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Kernoc nalek si kesic ce miyac ak ce yac, si kokas pik tukul. Ingoesio cit ake tukul, keoon si kua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do someting unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesowiloi*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

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673 live under such conditions as the Dorobo. The dense forest, crossed by a [987] path only at one corner, the scattered groups of huts each in the old days [36] shut off from the next by a wall of trees, and the precarious hand to mouth existence of a hunting economy, all operate against the spending of much time in meeting others away from home merely to talk. And so the council was a more serious affair and held only when necessary; moreover its seriousness was emphasized, in the case of the clan council, by the provision of honey-wine so that it became a social as well as an administrative institution. 673 Though Dorobo had their quarrels and disputes, they were not cattle men, 691 and so were saved from one of the commonest causes of litigation in Africa, disputes over stock ownership and inheritance, which can occupy so much of the time of a pastoral tribe. The possessions of a Dorobo — his bow, his knife, his honey-barrels — do not reproduce themselves, and his bees and dogs, important as they are, have not the same significance as cattle when questions of inheritance are raised.

4. Crime and its Results

681 When a man had heard the decision of the council go against him, and knew that he should do this or that, did he always do it? As often as not, I believe, he obeyed because he felt the force of public opinion. Africans are very sensitive to what their own people think of them, and as a last resort the elders could call on the young men, the *murenik*, to enforce their decisions. If a man, knowing that he had to pay an ox as compensation, persisted in his failure to produce the animal, two or three *murenik* could be sent by the council to persuade him by moral or if necessary physical force to obey. But in a small community like that of the Dorobo a man just could not afford to have everybody's disapproval or resentment directed against him; and the strength of public opinion as an incentive to obey orders is very real. It is a strong element in horde cohesion. Moreover, behind it is the fear of the spirits, to which we shall return later on.

674 Crimes and offences for which some form of action is taken fall into 673 two categories, public delicts, or crimes against the horde as a whole, and private delicts, or offences against individuals. The former are the more serious, since their commission may affect not only the offender, but also 674 others with whom he is connected. Such crimes include incest, intercourse with a clanswoman, killing a clansfellow, witchcraft, killing an enemy (but see below), and disobedience to the council. These crimes are "public" because their commission is regarded as likely to affect others besides the criminal. Incest and intercourse with a clanswoman (equivalent to incest) are displeasing to the *cesowiloi*, the spirits, and unless appropriate action is taken, the people may suffer. Murder of a clansman, though in one sense a private delict, is really to be classed among public delicts because it strikes at the foundations of horde unity, the clan. And though killing an enemy is not in itself a crime, it nevertheless brings the killer into the same state of danger to himself and others as killing a Dorobo, and thus necessitates ceremonial cleansing.

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Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e. g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *koret* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kiruokindet*, who passed word round the *koret* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *tiliet* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *koret* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*pas*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *koret* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *koret* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

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682 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as
623 many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if
692 he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been [614] agreed upon by both clan and *koret* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 Killing a witch. Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were
754 reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepase*).

609 Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo
682 and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies [701] were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime, [721] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus [783] brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man [302] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase toket*) with stripes of white earth (*enoriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 Theft. Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

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out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognized area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognize it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama susuonno*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama rotuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [693] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespass can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [777]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]